# THE

# COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

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Of The Means horef M. Hemry will hand you the bonds given for Watter Monds? faithfull performance of his state; in the Coinage of Copper agricably to the late of the Segislature of the State; the one exceeded by Smidly, Ralfton and Reve was done in my Office and in my presence, and I think they are sufficient femily to the that for Monds & performance exclusive of the former trond quien by Monds, Hathamay, Henry and Halsey who are all suffernatial freeholds in this bounty (energt Hones)

Dear Sir The bearer hereof Wm Kenny will hand you the bonds given for Walter Mould's faithful performance of his duties in the Coinage of Copper agreeable to the Acts of the Legislature of this State; the one executed by Sindley, Ralston and Reeve was done in my office and in my presence, and I think they are sufficient security to the State for Mould's performance exclusive of the former bond given by Mould, Hathaway, Kenny and Halsey who are all substantial freeholds in this County (except Mould)

PORTION OF TRANSMITTAL LETTER --- DELIVERY OF WALTER MOULD'S PERFORMANCE BONDS FOR HIS COINAGE OF THE NEW JERSEY COPPERS.

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■ A MODERN SURVEY of
 THE COPPER COINAGE of THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY
 ■ ■

The first American coin to bear the motto E PLURIBUS UNUM

by William T. Anton, Jr. Lodi, New Jersey

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A MODERN SURVEY of

THE COPPER COINAGE of THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

The first American coin to hear the motto E Pluribus Unum

by William T. Anton, Jr. Lodi. New Jersey

### PART I INTRODUCTION & DEDICATION

As indicated by the title, this paper is an up-to-date review of the authorized copper coinage of the State of New Jersey. It discusses the historical background of the coinage and includes several unpublished documents and facts regarding the circumstances surrounding the coinage. It also covers the evolution of numismatic interest in this series, the major collections and an up-to-date tabulation of all presently known die varieties and combinations, with remarks. A supplement is planned for future publication which will contain an extensive group of photographs of the varieties not illustrated in "Maris" together with numerous oddities.

I would like to dedicate this monograph to two very dear people who have inspired me throughout my life --

First thanks go to my father, William T. Anton, Sr., who shared the joys of research and collecting with me over the years. Many of you will remember our exchange of correspondance over a period of two decades when, at times, months would pass without word, all in the process of research. My father's faith and inspiration, and above all his good name has endowed me with unequalled opportunity.

Secondly, a Dean in numismatics and a Dean among men, my very dear friend Dr. Harold Morrison Smith, former president of the Bordentown School for Boys, and a gentleman of the highest degree: I would like to thank the late Dr. Smith for the many pleasant hours and days we spent discussing our mutual interests. Dr. Smith had two very fine New Jersey collections consisting of over 300 specimens which I was priviledged to study as well as to share in his unexcelled knowledge of New Jersey history which he related to me and which I am pleased to share with others, in turn.

To my father and to Dr. Smith, thank you for your love, faith and inspiration.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge and thank Mr. Jack Leeds of Elizabeth, New Jersey, for all the help that he gave me, and especially for providing me with certain land descriptions, dates, locations and background history of New Jersey, and for the time he devoted traveling with me to the various locations mentioned in the notes. Without his help this review could not have been written.

## PART II THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The public records at Trenton, New Jersey show that on May 23, 1786, a petition was placed before the House of the Tenth General Assembly of New Jersey, sitting at New Brunswick, to enfranchise three men, Walter Mould, Thomas Goadsby and Albion Cox, to strike copper coin for the State of New Jersey. It was thereupon ordered that five members of the Assembly -- namely, A. Clark, R.S.Smith, Marsh, Sheppard and Nicoll -- form a committee to confer with the petitioners and to report to the House the terms that could be agreeded upon for the production of the coinage.

On the following day - May 24, 1786, this Committee reported the following options by the petitioners: (1) to coin a sum of coppers not to exceed ten thousands pounds and to pay one-eleventh part of the coinage to the State, or (2) to coin a greater sum and to pay the State one-tenth part of the coinage to the State. This greater sum would be limited to as large an amount as would pass current without depreciation.

Events were moving quickly! The next day, May 25, 1786, a William Leddel presented a competing proposal to the Assembly for a franchise to make copper coin "equal in weight and quality to the best ever circulated in the State", from which he would pay the State every ninth copper coin and would receive from the State, if so desired, paper money of the State in exchange for the coins. The Legislature ignored Leddel's proposal! As S.S.Crosby has reported, "he seems to have received rather cool treatment, not even 'leave to withdraw' being recorded upon his petition." Apparently Leddel lacked the necessary political backing, whereas Mould, Goadsby and Cox had the firm support of Representatives Daniel Marsh and Matthias Ogden.

On June 1, 1786, just a week after receipt of their original petition, the New Jersey Legislature passed an Act authorizing Walter Mould, Thomas Goadsby and Albion Cox, to strike and coin in copper, for the State, the sum of ten thousand pounds at fifteen coppers to the shilling. This Act, introduced to the Assembly by Representative Daniel Marsh, contained the following provisions: that the coins be made within the State; that they weigh six pennyweight and six grains each; that they be made of pure copper, and that the marks and inscriptions be as directed by the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of New Jersey. The Act further provided that the coin should be subject to alteration in value by act of the Congress of the United States. In turn, Mould, Goadsby and Cox were required to post bond in the sum of £ 10,000 as assurance of their faithful performance in producing the proposed coinage in full within two years, and to pay 10% of the coinage into the State Treasury in quarterly installments. This Act was a compromise on the options reported by the Committee -- the sum was limited to ten thousand pounds but the payment to the State was increased to 10% which was the proposed payment for the greater At 150 grains each the authorized amount was equivalent to 3,000,000 amount. coppers.

The first mint of the New Jersey coppers was established in Rahway, New Jersey by Mould, Goadsby and Cox in the Fall of 1786. They leased a grist and sawmill which was owned by Representative Daniel Marsh, located on the southeasterly side of St. George's Avenue, facing the Rahway River. (Note 1). Today this site is occupied by the Koos Brothers Furniture Company. The lease was for a seven year period at £ 130 per annum and surety for the payments was provided by Representative Matthias Ogden. The stage was set for the production of the New Jersey coinage, but dissension arose between the pattners and Ogden and Marsh were soon to regret the support they had provided to the enterprise.

Some sort of serious disagreement developed between Walter Mould on the one hand, and Goadsby & Cox on the other. The nature of the disagreement is uncertain but the consequence was that Goadsby & Cox petitioned the Legislature for relief, and on November 22, 1786 a Supplemental Act was passed by the Legislature which authorized Goadsby & Cox to produce two-thirds of the coinage by themselves without prejudice to the rights of Walter Mould as the third party; however, there was a condition attached that in the event that Walter Mould did not commence the production of his one-third of the coinage within two months time, his share would revert to Goadsby & Cox. Whatever the circumstances of the disagreement may have been it is evident that the Legislature was pressuring Walter Mould to get on with the coinage; Goadsby & Cox had alleged, according to Damon G. Douglas, that although they had completed their establishment (at Rahway) of "rolling mill, furnaces, cutting and coining presses, unwrought copper and copper ore" all without assistance from Mould, he still prevented their start at coinage by his refusal to join with them in the legally required surety bond which they had already posted with the Treasurer.

With the passage of the Supplemental Act of November 22, 1786, the Rahway mint started production and the first delivery of coppers in payment of the required quarterly amount was made to the State Treasurer, James Mott, on March 16, 1787. The first quarterly payment from Walter Mould was received on May 8, 1787. (Note 2)

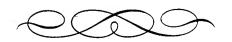
In spite of the seeming difficulty faced by Walter Mould in setting up his mint and starting operations within the two month time period allowed by the legislature, it is quite apparent that he met the deadline. Reproduced on page 492 is the letter of transmittal for Walter Mould's surety bond, sent by Mould's Attorney, Caleb Russell, to the State Treasurer, James Mott. The letter is endorsed "Received this letter and the enclosed bonds January 19th 1787. The payments were made and the bonds given up - " and so we see that Mould submitted his surety bonds just three days prior to the expiration of the two month time limit. That Mould's first quarterly payment to the Treasury follows the Rahway payment by less than two months also attests to his success in meeting the deadline. This historic letter is in the collection of the author. (Note 3)

The first paragraph of this Russell-Mott letter, reproduced and transcribed on the frontispiece of this issue, injects a new problem into the difficult history of the

HALF-SIZE REPRODUCTION OF THE CALEB RUSSELL-JAMES MOTT LETTER OF JANUARY 18, 1787 SHOWING TEXT, ADDRESS AND ENDORSEMENTS.

The Brace her of M. Horney will hand you the bonds given for Watte Mould & faithfull performance of his shirty inthe Comage of Copper agreeably to the arts of the Segislature of this State, the one incented by Sindly, Ralfton and Ruce was done in my ffice and in my prisonce, and I think they are Suffic - ount pecurity to the Hate for Mould I performance orcalme of the former Bond given by Monte, Hathamay, Hinny and Ralsey who are all Julftantial freeholds in this bounty (mught Heals) Twish you will lot Sphraim Mo Temphens endorf the but freak I lift with or find of popula, request them the bundles to take Notice whether they don those final followents John Prices Notes to Daniel Brown 80. 4 40 dolle one of Math Hostons gund. 102 doll! which they vary I have had - I don't find them - Jam fi

This letter, on a beautiful sheet of handmade paper bearing the watermark of P Ulrick, measures approximately 8.5 by 13 inches. It was written and folded in the manner of the day to form its own envelope. A transcription of the first paragraph is given on the frontispiece of this issue, and the second paragraph and endorsements in Note 20 on page 512. This letter clarifies the long standing confusion regarding the tradition that "Matthias Ogden was the surety of Walter Mould." Matthias Ogden DID guarantee for Walter Mould the payments on the Rahway lease, but he DID NOT provide surety to the State for Mould's performance on his coinage contract!



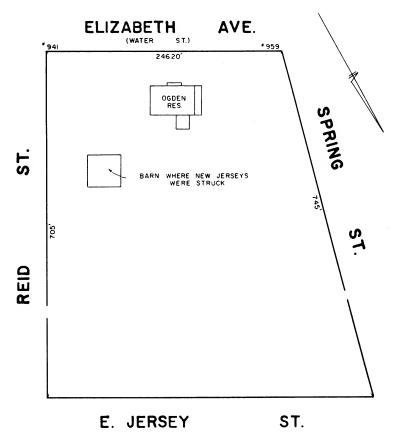
New Jersey mints. It implies that Walter Mould DID furnish an earlier bond, and that the present submittal of a bond executed by Sindley, Ralston and Reeve is an additional bond, to either replace or supplement the "former bond" given by Mould, Hathaway, Kenny and Halsey. It may well be that the "former bond" was not acceptable to the State and that this was the problem which led to the "disagreement" with Goadsby & Cox. This, however, remains for future historians to sort out.

Immediately following his separation from Goadsby & Cox, Walter Mould (who was known to have been a coiner of coppers in Birmingham, England prior to his arrival in America) set up his own mint near Morristown, New Jersey. He installed his equipment in a leased residence once known as "Solitude" which had been the home of John Cleve Symmes, Chief Justice of the State of New Jersey, and later known as the "Holloway House". The coinage operations at the Morristown mint continued until late 1788, and the final payment to the Treasury was received on January 29, 1789 and included interest due from June 1, 1788. It is evident that the full authorized coinage of 1,000,000 coppers was produced by the Morristown mint. After considerable financial difficulty with Matthias Ogden, Mould fled to Ohio where he died soon after. Ogden was left with the unhappy task of paying off Mould's portions of the original lease with Daniel Marsh for the Rahway mint for which he had bound himself as surety.

Meanwhile, to return to the coinage production at Rahway, the two remaining partners Goadsby & Cox were having their own difficulties. The exact nature of these difficulties is not known but it is most likely that Albion Cox, due to financial problems, spent time in debtors prison during mid-1787 thus leaving Goadsby, assisted by John Harper - a local craftsman - to produce the coinage by themselves. This interruption, or slowdown, in production is reflected in the absence of payments to the Treasurer between April 6, 1787 and October 4, 1787. It appears that when Cox did manage to return to Rahway he found himself locked-out of the mint by Goadsby and resorted to a writ of replevin on January 29, 1788. Another theory holds that Goadsby had removed the equipment from Rahway and was using it elsewhere. Whichever is the correct circumstance, by a rule of reference of June 7, 1788, as reported by Damon G. Douglas, all of the tools and implements at the Rahway mint were placed in the absolute custody of Matthias Ogden as Trustee. Despite these difficulties and the resulting confusion, the records of the Treasurer indicate that the final quarterly payment from Goadsby & Cox was made on July 3, 1788, and that the full 2,000,000 authorized coppers were produced by the Rahway operators. It is very interesting to note that this final payment was made by one Gilbert Rindell. (Note 4)

Based on reports recorded by S.S.Crosby, it appears that Matthias Ogden, sometime during the year 1788, removed the equipment from Rahway and installed it in a barn adjacent to his residence in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. This residence, later known as "Old Armstrong House" stood on property presently designated as

#941 to #959 Elizabeth Avenue and extended as far north as the present line of East Jersey Street. It was a brownstone residence erected in 1759 by Moses Ogden (father of Matthias Ogden) and whose daughter Nancy married Colonel Francis Barber and dwelt on the adjoining property which faced what is now known as Reid Street. The coinage at this location was carried on by a man named Gilbert Rindell who had lived in Elizabeth all of his life and whose family plot and grave markers are located in the First Presbyterian church yard, close to the rear wall of the present church building. The locations of the barn and residence are indicated on the sketch below: (Notes 5 & 6)



LOCATION OF MOSES OGDEN PROPERTY IN 1787 IN ELIZABETHTOWN, N.J. (ELIZABETH, N.J.)

The method of production of New Jersey coppers at the Elizabethtown mint was reported by S.S.Crosby (page 286) in the form of a letter submitted by John H. Hickcox which relates the recollections of the daughter of Col. Francis Barber ".... In the middle of the room was a wooden box or pit sunk in the floor several feet deep, in the middle of which pit was placed an iron Die, the top of which was about level with the floor of the room -- A workman sat on the floor, with his legs inside the pit -- he placed the smooth coppers on the Die and when stamped, brushed them off the Die and into the pit -- The impression on the copper was made by a screw-press which was worked by two men, one at each end of an iron bar or horizontal lever, attached to the screw at the

centre of its length, which was about nine or ten feet long..."

The accuracy of these recollections can be visualized by the following illustration of a contemporary European minting operation taken from L'Encyclopedie of Denis Diderot:



There is some evidence, but of questionable reliability, reported by \$.\$.Crosby (p. 282) that the coinage of New Jersey coppers was also carried on by a Mr. Hatfield who is assumed to have made dies and struck pieces in a barn south of Elizabethtown. It was reported that he was assisted by a colored man who performed the heavy labor. This may have been the same Hatfield who maintained the then popular horse racing track on the site of the present Williams Athletic Field, just south of the old Hatfield house which was razed when Route #25 was constructed. Local legend has it that Hatfield's colored helper - his Negro slave - stole blank planchets from the barn, the Elizabethtown mint, on Ogden's property and that Hatfield made crude handcut dies and struck a group of coppers, all of which are today classified as contemporary counterfeits.

(Note 7)

In this brief outline of the three year history of the New Jersey coppers, we have traced the evolution of two official mints, Rahway and Morristown, and have seen how these two mints, despite continuing problems between the key personnel, managed to produce the total authorized quantity of 3,000,000 coppers, and-how eventually, because of his financial as well as political involvement, the entire operation came into the hands of Matthias Ogden who subsequently operated a quasi-official mint at his home in Elizabethtown, which, in turn, seems to have encouraged the operation of the unofficial Hatfield mint south of Elizabethtown. The possible existance of other mint sites is discussed in Part IV of this article.

# PART III THE NUMISMATIC ASPECTS --- COLLECTIONS @

Starting in the year 1867, Dr. Edward Maris, M.D. of Philadelphia assembled an outstanding collection of New Jersey coppers. In 1880 he published an illustrated index of his collection, made up at that time of specimens which he had collected plus a New Jersey type collection which he had purchased from fellow numismatist M.W.Dickeson in 1876. His index "A Historic Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey, with a plate" described and illustrated some 114 varieties and combinations exhibiting the "E Pluribus Unum" reverse and the "Horse Head" obverse with year dates 1786, 1787 and 1788, plus several of the Mark Newbie pieces which are not discussed here. Dr. Maris sold his collection at auction in 1886. His system of attribution was made up of numbers – designating obverses – and letters – designating reverses – and was so complete that these same designations remain in use today, and Dr. Maris remains the recognized authority on the New Jersey coinage. (Notes 8 & 9)

Dr. Maris' elephant size folios were printed by William K. Bellows of Philadelphia in 1881. Thirty-five of the books were ordered to be printed for Dr. Maris, but fifty were delivered to him by the printer. The quality of the large plate is without equal. It is gratifying to know that 94 years ago the Father of New Jersey Coppers cared enough to produce the finest for his fellow numismatists; however, the books apparently did not sell very well and four months following the sale of his collection in June of 1886 the remainder of Dr. Maris' books were advertised for sale by Lyman H. Low for \$2.75 each.

During the 95 years since the publication of "Maris" there have been discovered some dozen or so new die varieties making up some twenty new combinations, including new combinations of previously known dies. These new varieties and combinations are included in my tabulation of 133 Die Combinations starting on page 503.

During 1925 the Guttag Brothers, foreign exchange bankers of New York City, published a twenty page booklet of line drawings of all of the then known varieties. This booklet was titled "New Jersey Cents" and added four new varieties to the list published by Dr. Maris. These were 10-ji, 21½-R, 22½-R and 83-ii. The Guttag booklet was published more or less as a substitute for the huge elephant folio of Dr. Maris which could not be transported safely through the mail! In their "Preface" the Guttag's state "The New Jersey Cents have been a rather neglected series among collectors principally on account of the unwieldy size of the book on New Jersey Cents by Doctor Maris. Although it has been a very valuable reference work for the numismatic world, it was so hard to handle that many collectors have foregone the pleasure of collecting this series. "(Note 11)

In spite of this difficulty with Dr, Maris' book, there have been many excellent collections of New Jersey coppers assembled over the years. In the compilation which follows are the major collections of New Jersey coppers that I have

### A HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE-

# COINS OF NEW JERSEY,

WITH PLATE.





CONTAINING SPECIMENS OF THE MARK NEWBIE COPPERS AND THE ISSUES OF 1786-7-8, WITH OBVERSES REVERSES, AND COM-BINATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT VARIETIES OF THE LATTER, AND A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE DISTINCTIVE DIFFERENCES AND RARITY.

# By Edward Maris, M. D.

Corresponding Member of the American Numismatic and Archaelogical Society of New York.

This elaborate treatise on an important and interesting series of our early coins forms a page in the history of our country as well as of the State of New Jersey. It has now been before the public a sufficient time to demonstrate its utility as a guide to collectors of the coinage of the State. It has met with the hearty and cordial endorsement of the prominent scientists in numismatics.

Dr. Maris has been a persistent and ardent collector of these coins for many years, and there is little attached to their history that is unknown to him. He has long been regarded as the highest authority on them. The work is interspersed with historic notes and contains a large two-page connecting phototype plate by Gutekunst, presenting obverses and reverses to the number of 140, combining the whole number of types and varieties known.

I have purchased the entire edition remaining unsola, and now offer it to the public at the low price of \$2.75. The book is a large folio and cannot pass safely through the mail.

> LYMAN H. LOW. Numismatist,

853 Broadway, New York. October 15, 1886.

7	FULL PAGE ADVERTISEMENT of LYMAN H. LOW CARRIED IN VARIOUS
	PUBLICATIONS for THE UNSOLD REMAINDER of DR. MARIS' BOOK.

examined over a period of some 20 years. I have allowed the names of most privately-held collections to remain anonymous, listing them only by geographic location, but I take this opportunity to extend my appreciation to each and every one for availing me this information. One collection that I have not been able to examine and which certainly belongs in this catagory is the F.C.C. Boyd Estate collection. There are probably others with which I am not familiar and I would appreciate the opportunity at some future time to examine such collections. (Note 12)

# Major Collections of New Jersey Coppers

American Numismatic Society (ANS) - 98 varieties

Jack Spiro Collection - 109 varieties (Note 13)

Johns Hopkins University (JHU) - 113 varieties (Note 9)

New Jersey Historical Society (NJHS) - 109 varieties (Note 14)

Fogg Museum at Harvard University

Yale University

Plainfield Collection - 92 varieties (Note 15)

Bordentown Collection

Trenton Collection

Montclair Collection (2 collections)

Metuchen Collection

Rhode Island Collection

Massachusetts Collection (2 collections)

Long Islang Collection

California Collection

Ohio Collection

New Hampshire Collection

Maryland Collection

Hoosick Falls, New York Collection

Florida Collection

Missouri Collection

Elizabeth Collection

Hiram Dietz Collection - 94 varieties, 462 coppers

Thatcher Collection

**Newton Collection** 

Fast Hartland Collection







# PART IV DIES AND DIESINKERS

New Jersey coppers were produced from many varieties of dies exhibiting distinctly different workmanship, letter punches, ornaments, shapes of shields and horses' profiles. These distinctions indicate that many different diesinkers were at work producing New Jersey dies. Listed below are the diesinkers whom I believe to have been responsible for the majority of the dies:

Thomas Wyon, in England, 7–C, 7–E, 8–F James Atlee

John Bailey, 74-bb, 75-bb, 76-cc, 77-dd, 77½-dd (intermediate die state), and 78-dd.

I do not believe that Ephraim Brasher aided John Bailey in any way in the preparation of dies for New Jersey coppers.

The following are some of the diesinkers who were also involved, but to a much lesser degree:

Abel Buell William Buell, 54-k

I firmly believe that William Buell engraved the 54-k dies during a visit at the Elizabethtown mint to see Matthias Ogden. Col. William Cooley, a goldsmith from New York

Joseph Callender Jacob Perkins

It has been generally accepted among my colleagues that die varieties 56-n, 57-n and 58-n were struck at New Grange (now Newburgh), New York at the Machin's Mills mint, and that the John Bailey "running horse" varieties were struck in New York City. This supposition was made because of certain similarities in letter punches used on New Jersey coinage are found as well on the coinage of some other States. In the case of 56-n, 57-n and 58-n, their large serrated borders on obverses and reverses -- characteristic of Machin's Mills specimens -- led many of my colleagues to believe that these, also, were products of Machin's Mills. If this were true, would varieties 6-D, 14-J, 18-M, 19-M, 24-P, 32-T, 43-d, 46-e, 59-o, 64-t plus any other interlocking combinations with these dies similarly be considered to be of Machin's Mills manufacture? I hardly think so. If Machin's Mills or the New York City mint had manufactured such coppers, who would have benefited from them? Or, should we assume such coppers to be counterfeits?

Relative to the John Bailey "running horse" varieties believed by some to have been struck in New York City; the evidence to support this is an affidavit produced by Mr. Charles I. Bushnell as reported by S.S.Crosby (page 282-283). This affidavit indicated, in a rather curious fashion, that at one time he had legally made such coins but not since the fifteenth of April, 1788. There is no indication of the location where Bailey was supposed to have produced such coins, but the indication that they were legally produced implies that they were struck in the State of New Jersey, and not New York. Among collectors of Washingtonia the general impression regarding Mr. Bushnell is that he liked very much to be the center of attention. While his numismatic holdings were vast, so were his abilities to call attention to himself, and as a result many of his documents and unique or unusual specimens are considered suspect.

With regard to certain similiarities in characteristics found on some New Jersey specimens and those of other States – for example 56-n, 57-n and 58-n which I believe were produced NOT at Machin's Mills but instead at the Elizabethtown mint in New Jersey, I submit the following explaination for these similiarities: There is evidence that James Atlee, a very skilled diesinker, would travel about the country vending his crafts much in the manner of the itinerant pewterer. He would travel from State to State, from one mint to another in New York, Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey and even Massachusetts, vending his diesinking services as needed. The mints of "colonial" America were not fully equipped with all the necessary letter punches and tools neatly arranged in a cabinet.

Traveling between mints over long and rugged country roads would often require many months in either horse-drawn wagons or on horseback. I believe that Atlee probably carried most of his belongings with him on these travels, including his own tools, equipment and groups of letter punches. Thus, whenever his services were required at one of the mints he would simply go to his horse or wagon and take out the tools for the job. When his task was completed, he received payment from the mintmaster for his dies and would continue on to the next mint, taking his tools and equipment with him.

Having concluded his business at any one of these mint sites, Atlee would often take back with him a pail or keg of discarded or reject coppers, perhaps in partial payment for his fee. These discards likely included such things as weak impressions, off center strikes, double strikes, flakey planchets, clipped flans and perhaps even blanks. It is very likely that these discarded coppers from other States were transported to one of the New Jersey mints and sold (as ready-made planchets) to either Mould, Goadsby or Cox at times when they were in need of additional copper. Such a procedure would permit various mints to dispose of rejects, allow Atlee to earn an additional fee, and the New Jersey mints to obtain supplies of needed, though crude, planchets.

Other diesinkers, among them William Buell and John Bailey were also known to have visited various mint sites, carrying their tools along with them and demonstrating their skills to the mintmasters. I believe this is the manner in which William Buell came to produce the 54-k die during his visit to Matthias Ogden's home in Elizabethtown. One can understand how William, the young and energetic son of Abel Buell, would have wanted to impress Mr. Ogden with his abilities as a diesinker. Similiarly with John Bailey during his visit with Ogden during August, 1988. Bailey probably tried to convince Ogden of his skills by cutting the "running horse" obverse and reverse dies (74-bb through 78-dd) which were placed in use after his departure. Bailey never returned to the Elizabethtown mint as it ceased operations soon after his departure.

I have attempted, in this discussion, to provide an explanation to support my conviction that all New Jersey coppers were struck within the State despite similarities to the coinages of other States which have le'd some persons to believe that some originated from other mints outside of New Jersey.

PART V DIE VARIETIES IDENTIFIED BY MINT

Listed below are the various locations where I believe specific varieties of the New Jersey coppers were manufactured, based upon my studies and research into various sources.

O BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND (Patterns)

7-C 7-E

7-E 8-F

O RAHWAY, NEW JERSEY

18-J to 33-U 37-J to 39-a 41-c to 53-j
55-l and 55-m

O MORRISTOWN, NEW JERSEY

59-o to 69-w

O ELIZABETHTOWN, NEW JERSEY

6-C and 6-D 83 -C

9-G to 16-L

17-J, 17-K and 17-b

34-J to 35-W and 36-J

40**-**b 54**-**k

56-n, 57-n, 58-n

70-x to 78-dd

O HATFIELD MINT, SOUTH OF ELIZABETHTOWN

79-ee to 84



## PART VI ANTON RARITY SCALE FOR NEW JERSEY COPPERS

	R 9	Unique
	R 8	2 - 3
High	R 7	4 - 6
_	R 7	7 - 9
Low	R 7	10 - 12
	R 6	13 - 30
	R 5	31 <i>- 7</i> 6
	R 4	<i>76</i> <b>-</b> 1 <i>5</i> 0
	R 3	151 - 250
	R 2	251 - 400
	R 1	401 or more

This rarity scale is used in my Checklist of 133 Die Combinations of New Jersey Coppers which starts on page 503. There are, in addition, a number of abbreviations used in the Checklist. These are:

JHU = Johns Hopkins University
NJHS = New Jersey Historical Society
ANS = American Numismatic Society

MS 65 = Mint State Condition 65 as specified by Dr. William H. Sheldon in Table 1. A Quantitative Scale For Condition in his book "Penny Whimsy." Other condition states are similarly noted.

Die Variety 6-C, for example, indicates Obverse 6 combined with Reverse C following the attribution system establish by Dr. Maris.



# ● PART VII CHECKLIST OF 133 DIE COMBINATIONS OF NEW JERSEY COPPERS ●

D	ie Variety	Ro	arity	Remarks	
	6 <b>-</b> C		4		(Note 16)
	6-D		1	MS 60 in Anton collection.	(Note 17)
	7 <b>-</b> C		9	Not in Maris. Discovered by Q. David Bown Anton collection ex. Empire Coin Co. & pri	
	7 <b>-</b> E	High	7	JHU, F.C.C.Boyd Estate, California dealer Cleveland collection.	, Missouri collection,
	8-F		8	JHU, Virginia collection.	
	8½-C		8	Not in Maris. Anton collection, JHU.	
	9-G	High	7	JHU, NJHS, Montclair collection, Massach	susetts collection.
	10-G	Low	7	JHU, NJHS, Anton collection (3), Plainfiel ex. Spiro collection, Long Island collection and another.	
	10 <b>-</b> gg		8	Not in Maris. Discovered by Dr. Hall in Ap Massachusetts collection ex. Hall-Brand-Boy	
	10 <b>-</b> h		7	NJHS, Anton collection, Rhode Island collection, others.	ction, Montclair
	11-G		9	Anton collection, about uncirculated, ex. <i>I</i> Historical Society (Appleton).	<b>Nassachusetts</b>
	11-H		6		
	11½-Ģ		7	JHU, NJHS, Craig (Maris plate coin), Anto Montclair collection, others.	n collection (2),
	11-hh		9	Not in Maris. Discovered by Walter H.Bree ex. J.N.Spiro sale of 1955.	n, c. 1952.
	12 <b>-</b> G		5	MS 65 specimen exists in an Ohio collection	1.
	12-1		6		
	13-J	High	6	MS 65 specimen exists in Plainfield collection	on.
	14-J		1	MS 65 in Anton collection.	
	15-J		2		
	15-L		3		
	15 <b>-</b> T		4		
	15 <b>-</b> U		6	Not as rare as once believed. A Very Fine sale of 6–27–75 realized \$700.	pecimen in Stack's
	16-d		8	Not in Maris. Discovered by Dr. Hall in Ap	oril 1893.

Die Variety	Rarity	Remarks
16 <b>-</b> J	6	A Very Good specimen in Stack's 6-27-75 sale realized \$480.
16-L	1	A number of mint state specimens exist. MS 65 in Anton collection, and AU to Unc. in Stack's 6-27-75 sale @ \$850.
17-J	3	Known struck over Connecticuts.
17-K	4	Known struck over Machin's Mills 1772 3E and Connecticuts.
17 <b>-</b> b	4	Exist on large and small diameter planchets. Known struck over Nova Eborac, Connecticuts and Vermont RR 9.
L-81	6	Known struck in brass.
18-L	8	JHU, and another。
18-M	1	A 55 specimen, borderline Unc., in Stack's 6-27-75 sale realized \$1200. Known struck in brass.
18-N	6	Not as rare as once believed, choice specimens exist.
19-M	6	A 55 specimen in Anton collection.
20-N	4	MS 60 in Anton collection.
21-N	2	
21-0	6	Not as rare as once believed. MS 65 in Anton collection.
21-P	4	
21-R	7	Not in Maris. Discovered by Dr. Hall in 1892. JHU, NJHS, Anton collection, Montclair collection, F.C.C.Boyd Estate, Craige, two others.
21½ <b>-</b> R	9	Not in Maris. Discovered by Hillyer Ryder and illustrated in the 1914 ANS Exhibition catalogue where it was labeled "Obverse not in Maris." Later illustrated in Standard Catalogue. Believed to be in F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection ex. Ryder.
22-P	7	JHU, NJHS, ANS, Montclair collection, and Maris plate coin.
23-P	2	MS 60 in NJHS and Boyd collection.
23-R	3	MS 65 in Massachusetts collection.
23½-R	High 7	Not in Maris. Discovered by Dr. Hall in April 1895. F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection, Ohio collection, another ex. Dr. Hall, and one other.
24-M	9	Not in Maris. Discovered by William T. Anton, Jr., 1969. Anton collection.
24-P	2	MS 60 in Anton collection.
24 <b>-</b> Q	8	JHU, Plainfield collection.

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Die Variety	Rarity	Remarks	

Die Variety	Rarity	Remarks
24-R	6	Not as rare as once believed. MS 65 in Anton collection.
25 <b>-</b> S	5	Rare in better grades.
26-d	9	Not in Maris. Discovered by Richard August, 1973.  Anton collection.
26 <b>-</b> S	4	
27 <b>-</b> j	7	Not in Maris. Discovered by Dr. Hall c. 1895.  ANS, Anton collection (3), Plainfield collection, Spiro sale, Hoosick Falls collection, others. A Fair/Good in Stack's 6-27-75 sale realized \$425.
27 <b>-</b> S	4	A 50 specimen in Anton collection.
28-L	3	
28-5	4	
29-L	4	
30-L	3	MS 60 in Anton collection.
31-L	2	MS 60 in Anton collection.
32 <b>-</b> T	1	A 50 specimen in Anton collection, MS 60 in Pennsylvania collection.
33 <b>-</b> U	4	Rare in high grades, A 55 specimen in Anton collection.
34 <b>-</b> J	2	Different die states exist with die damage at date. Known struck over Connecticuts and Nova Eborac.
34 <b>-</b> V	6	Reverse shield almost always weakly struck. A 55 specimen in Anton collection; also 34-V struck over 35-J. Known struck over Connecticuts. Another over 35-J at ANS.
35 <b>-</b> J	Low 7	JHU, NJHS, ANS, Anton collection (3) one struck over 35-W, Montclair collection, Plainfield collection, N.H., L.I., others.
35 <b>-</b> W	8	NJHS has finest ex. Maris plate coin, Long Island collection, Anton collection. Known struck over Connecticuts.
36 <b>-</b> J	7	JHU, NJHS, Anton collection (2), F.C.C.Boyd Estate, others. A Very Good specimen in Stack's 6–27–75 sale realized \$1400.
37 <b>-</b> J	4	
37-X	7	JHU, NJHS, Anton collection (2), F.C.C.Boyd Estate, Montclair collection, Trenton collection, others.
37-Y	4	
37 <b>-</b> f	3	MS 60 specimen in Anton collection.

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Die Variety	Rarity	Remarks
38-L	9	Not in Maris. Discovered by Robert J. Lindesmith in 1969.  Anton collection.
38-Y	3	MS 60 specimen in Anton collection.
38 <b>-</b> Z	4	
38-a	4	Rare in high grades. A Fine specimen in Stack's 6–27–75 sale realized \$250.
38 <b>-</b> 6	Low 7	JHU, NJHS, ANS, Anton collection (2), Plainfield collection. Very rare in high grades.
38 <b>-</b> c	2	
39-a	2	MS 60 specimen in Anton collection.
40 <b>-</b> b	Low 7	A 50 specimen specimen in Anton collection.  Known struck over Connecticuts and Irish Halfpence.
41-c	Low 7	A 55 specimen in Anton collection。 (Note 18)
42-c	6	Not as rare as once believed
43-Y	5	Rare in high grades. Reverse shield usually weak.
43-d	1	MS 60 specimen in Anton collection.
44-c	Low 7	(Note 18)
44-d	3	Known struck in brass.
45-d	6	
45 <b>-</b> e	5	
46-e	1	MS 60 specimen in Anton collection. An About Uncirculated specimen in Stack's 6-27-75 sale realized \$400.
47 <b>-</b> e	Low 7	A 55 specimen in Anton collection. Most specimens are struck on slightly concave planchets. Dies are not blundered.
47 <del>½−e</del>	8	Not in Maris. Discovered by Walter H. Breen, 1954, now in F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection. Anton collection.
48-X	8	Not in Maris. Discovered by J.N.Spiro, 1950, now in F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection, another.
48-f	3	A 50 specimen in Anton collection.
48 <b>-</b> g	1	MS 60 specimen in Anton collection. An About Uncirculated specimen in Stack's 6–27–75 sale realized \$525.
49 <b>-</b> f	5	A 50 specimen in Anton collection, plus a unique specimen with reeded edge.

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Die Variety	Rarity	Remarks	
50-f	4	JHU has MS 70 proof-like specime equal.	n. I have never seen its
51 <b>-</b> g	6	Date almost always does not show t	ıp.
52 <b>-</b> i	3	MS 60 specimen in Anton collection	n.
53 <b>-</b> j	3	MS 65 specimen in Anton collection	n.
54-k	3	MS 60 in Anton collection. An Ext 6-27-75 sale realized \$575.	ra Fine specimen in Stack's

many other series.

collection.

in brass.

5

1

7

5

5

4

5

1

1

5

1

1

6

8

2

8

1

5

55**-1** 

55-m

56-n

57-n

58-n

59-o

60-p

61-p

62-q

62-r

63-q

63-r

63-s

64-t

64-u

64½-r

65-u

66-u

66-v

67-v

68-w

A Very Good specimen in Stack's 6-27-75 sale realized \$200.

JHU, NJHS, Anton collection (3) including Maris plate coin,

Not in Maris. Discovered by Richard August, 1974. Anton

Not in Maris. Discovered by Canfield. JHU a 55 specimen.

Very Fine specimen in Anton collection. Known struck

Metuchen collection, Plainfield collection, ex. Spiro, others.

MS 65 specimen in Anton collection. Known struck over

(Note 19)

Known struck over Connecticuts and Vermonts.

MS 65 specimen in Anton collection.

Exist on large and small diameter planchets.

Obverse VF, Reverse EF in Anton collection.

NJHS where it is mis-attributed as a "77-BB".

JHU has two, F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection.

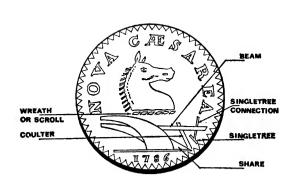
MS 65 specimen in Anton collection.

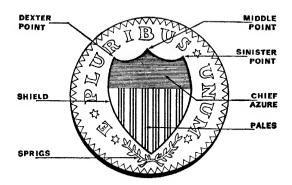
A 55 specimen in Anton collection.

Die Variety	Rarity	Remarks	
69 <b>-</b> w	8	JHU, F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection ex. Maris.	
70 <b>-</b> ×	Low 7	JHU, NJHS, ANS, Anton collection (2), Metuchen collection, Montclair collection, F.C.C.Boyd, Spiro, others. Known struck over counterfeit English halfpence.	
71 <b>-</b> y	7	JHU, NJHS, Anton collection (2) one a 55 specimen, Maryland collection, others. Known struck over Connecticuts and Machin's Mills 14K.	
72 <b>-</b> z	High 5	Known struck over Connecticuts, 1724 counterfeit English halfpence, Machin's Mills 1775.	
73 <b>-</b> aa	5	MS 65 specimen in Anton collection. Not as rare as 72-z. Known struck over Connecticuts and Spanish 4 Maravedi.	
74 <b>-</b> bb	6	Finest known in Anton collection shows Coulter and singletree. Lot 177 in Stack's 6-27-75 sale realized \$1100.	
75 <b>-</b> bb	4	A 50 specimen in Anton collection.	
76 <b>-</b> cc	8	JHU, Montclair collection, Hall-Brand.	
77 <b>-</b> dd	2	MS 60 specimen in Anton collection. Known struck in brass.	
77⅓-dd	Low 7	Not in Maris. Discovered by William T. Anton, Jr., 1956. Reverse die unbroken as in 77-dd, obverse die just starting to break as in 78-dd. A 55 specimen in Anton collection.	
78 <b>-</b> dd	2	MS 60 specimen in Anton collection. Usually found on small diameter planchets and rarely on large planchets.	
79-ee	9	F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection.	
80-ff	9	JHU	
81 <b>-</b> II	8	JHU, Montclair collection, F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection.	
82	delete	This variety was included in Maris' original index but has subsequently been identified as a mint error impression of 36-J.	
83 <b>-</b> ii	High 7	Not in Maris. Discovered by Dr. Maris c. 1885 and described by him in his Henkels sale of June 21st, 1886 as "Unique New Jersey received since the issue of my work. Condition	
(Not	e 21)	good. Date, 1787. Straight plow-beam; horse head thrown back, and long nose. Rev., a small, wedge-shaped shield, with seven pales. The legend looks like *E* PLURIBU8 * UNUM* (the Nupside down.)"	
		Anton collection (2) one struck over Nova Constellatio, JHU, NJHS, Maris sale specimen in F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection.	
84-kk	8	Not in Maris. Discovered by J.N.Spiro, 1949.  Montclair collection, F.C.C.Boyd Estate collection.	

# PART VIII GLOSSARY

In his article published in COIN WORLD on May 18, 1966, my friend Paul J. Carey, Jr. of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, pointed out the necessity for understanding the terminology used to describe a particular series of coins. Included in the article was an illustration of the Obverse and Reverse of a New Jersey copper and an accompanying glossary, both of which are reproduced below with the kind permission of COIN WORLD:





# ARGENT -

Silver, often indicated as white.

#### AZURE -

The blue color of the clear sky; the unclouded sky.

#### BEAM -

That part of a plow to which the handles and coulter are attached.

#### CHIEF -

The upper part of an heraldic field; the top one-third of a shield.

#### COULTER -

Acutter on a plow to cut the turf.

#### DEXTER -

The side of a shield near the right arm as worn, or to the left side as seen by the spectator.

#### **GULES** -

The heraldic color red.

#### MIDDLE -

The center chief point of a shield.

#### PALES -

Perpendicular stripes in a shield or escutcheon.

#### SCROLL -

a term used by Maris, synonmous with Crosby's WREATH.

#### SHARE -

That part of the plow that cuts the furrow.

#### SHIELD -

An escutcheon; a decorative or identifying emblem.

#### SINGLETREE -

The pivoted swinging bar to which the traces of a harness are attached and by which an implement is drawn.

#### SINISTER -

The side of a shield near the left arm as worn, or the right side as seen by the spectator.

#### SPRIGS -

Small shoots; ornaments resembling stemmed flowers or leaves.

#### WREATH -

Something intertwined into a circular shape. See SCROLL.

# PART IX NOTES

July 1975

- Damon G. Douglas, "The Original Mint of the New Jersey Coppers". 1. Originally published in the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vol.69, No. 3, July 1951, Whole No. 266, pp. 223-230. Reprinted in The Colonial Newsletter, Vol.7, No. 3, July 1968, Serial No. 23, Page 27 (Sequential page 225). This carefully documented research by Mr. Doualas established Rahway as the first New Jersey mint and contains references identifying the locations of several important documents relative to the New Jersey coinage, including the records of payments by Mould, Goadsby and Cox to the State Treasurer, James Mott, for the coinage franchise.
- Walter H. Breen, "Mintage Figures for the New Jersey Coinage, from the 2. receipt books of James Mott, Treasurer to the State of New Jersey." The Colonial Newsletter, March 1970, Sequential pages 295-297. In this paper Walter Breen reports his trip to the Princeton University Library and his analysis of the account book entries indicating that Walter Mould at Morristown, and Goadsby & Cox at Rahway produced their full authorized quantities of coinage within the time limits set by the Legislature.
- This is the same letter referenced by Douglas (Note 1 above) in his footnote 3. number 21 as "Letter of transmittal now in the collection of J.N.Spiro."
- While it is reasonably well established that Gilbert Rindell and 4. Matthias Ogden were producing New Jersey coinage at Elizabethtown in early 1788, it is uncertain just how early this operation started, or what their relationship may have been with the Rahway operation. It is very possible that the Elizabethtown mint was in operation much earlier than indicated by S.S.Crosby and additional research in this area is needed. It is a surprise to find Gilbert Rindell's name associated with the payments from Goadsby & Cox.
- On July 13, 1959 I visited the Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth) mint site with 5. my father, William Anton, Sr., Mr. Jack Leeds, and my engineer Mr. John Sepede of Lodi, New Jersey. We searched the records at Town Hall in Elizabeth to obtain dimensions and proper addresses of the mint's location. These are indicated on the map on page 494.
- On July 14, 1959 I visited the First Presbyterian church yard accompanied by 6. my father and Jack leeds.
- On July 19, 1959 I visited this location with Jack Leeds and my father. 7。

8. The auctioneers and cataloguers of the Dr. Edward Maris sale were Stan V. Henkels & Co. of Philadelphia. The sale was held on June 21, 1886. In May of 1886 Henkels was offering the Maris catalog for \$4.00 and the six plates were available for an extra \$1.25. A fair estimate is that 22 of the sale catalogs were purchased by collectors and dealers. I have traced only seven such catalogs; some years ago a Long Island dealer was offering the photographic plates from this famous catalog.

On November 16-17, 1900, five months following Dr. Maris' death, S.H. & H. Chapman auctioned off the balance of Dr. Maris' numismatic possessions. Included in this auction was the plate of electrotypes used in the production of the photographic plate in Maris' book. It sold for \$27.00 The listing in the catalog is reproduced below:

- 1384 Maris. Electrotypes of N. J. Cents, arranged in order and numbered as the plate and from which the plate was photographed. Each piece finely made and soldered to sheet of zinc. Only two made!
- 9. Johns Hopkins University houses the John Work Garrett Collection.

  Mr. Garrett purchased most of Dr. Maris' coins at the Maris sale. This plus other purchases make up the Johns Hopkins University New Jersey collection of 113 varieties. (See TN-40, CNL, page 435 for a detailed discussion.)
- 10. The Maris' plate was made up from electrotypes of the New Jersey coppers. (See Note 8 above). I have owned several of these electros over the years. There is another plate which closely resembles the Maris plate known as the Nagy plate and named after Steven K. Nagy of Philadelphia. Photographs of the Nagy plate can be quickly recognized as follows:

Nagy plate has Obverse 80 in lower right corner; Maris plate has Obverse 82. In addition, electros "M" and "N" are transposed on the Nagy plate.

The genuine Maris plate is not without its problems, however! In the upper right corner, top row, the third illustration from the right is identified as P when it is actually p (lower case). This error has not been corrected on modern reprints of the Maris plate and has, no doubt, caused some collectors considerable trouble.

- 11. Guttag's variety 22½-R is actually Maris' 23½-R.
- 12. The F.C.C.Boyd Estate Collection includes a 56-n struck over a George Clinton copper, and a 35-W struck over a Georgius Triumpho.
- 13. Jack Spiro owned three New Jersey brockages.
- 14. The New Jersey Historical Society houses the Canfield Collection of 109 varieties.

- 15. A very choice Plainfield, New Jersey collection was put together by purchase of the cream-of-the-crop from the Dr. Hall - Virgil Brand stock of 92 varieties.
- 16. There is in the Anton collection a unique trial piece on a square silver flan of the Reverse C pattern, ex. F.C.C.Boyd collection.
- 17. A specimen of Dr. Edward's copy of the Immune Columbia struck over a Maris 6-D is in the Anton collection, also - the Lincoln Head obverse (same obverse as found on Confederate three dollar gold piece) struck over a New Jersey copper.
- 18. Maris 41-c and 44-c have the same reverse die. 41-c was struck first, then Reverse c shield was reworked and made larger on 44-c.
- 19. Variety 56-n is known struck over the following:

1787 Connecticuts 4-L, 11.2-K, 30-hh.1, 31.1-r.4, 33.2-Z.5, 33.2-Z.12, 33.34-Z.11, 42-kk.2, 52-G.1 Nova Fhorac

Vermont Ryder 13 and 25 (at ANS)

1739 GEO.II halfpence

1775 Machin's Mills and the following MM's; 3E, 15L, 15M, 13K, 18O

The second paragraph of the Russell-Mott letter is on an entirely different 20. subject and apparently has no bearing on the bonds of Walter Mould. It reads:

> I wish you will let Ephraim and Wm Tompkins endorse the Certificates I left with you - within two weeks when I will be down or send if possible, request them in examining the bundles to take notice whether they don't find three final setlements John Pinces Notes two of Daniel Brown 80 & 40 doll<sup>rs</sup> one of Nath<sup>1</sup> Horton's, Jun<sup>r</sup> 102 doll<sup>rs</sup> which they say I have had - I don't find them - I am Sir your

> > very humble servt

Morristown Jan<sup>ry</sup> 18, 1787

Caleb Russell

• The letter is addressed:

James Mott Esquire

Treasurer of Wm Kenny New Jersey

The endorsement reads:

Received this letter and the enclosed bonds January 19<sup>th</sup> 1787.

The payments were made and the bonds given up.

- 21. (Editor's note). The reverse designations for obverses 80 through 84 is a problem that has become more difficult over the years. We hope that this discussion will explain the problem, resolve some of the confusion, and justify the reverse designations used in this checklist.
  - 80-ff It all started with Dr. Maris when he illustrated obverse 80 on his plate, together with its reverse, but failed to assign an identifying designation for that reverse. The next sequential designator would have been "ff", the preceding one in his text having been "ee". In 1925 Guttag illustrated the variety and designated it as 80-ff. In 1959 Walter H. Breen distributed a typewritten listing of varieties and he, also, called this 80-ff.
  - 81-II (lower case LL) Maris illustrated obverse 81 on his plate, but had no reverse illustration although he described the reverse in his text as, in part ".... small shield with four pales...." In the Maris sale of 1886 only an electro is included, but in 1955 at the Spiro sale the Maris specimen itself appeared with both obverse and reverse illustrated, but catalogued only as "81". Walter Breen in his 1959 listing called it 81-ii; however, in 1925 Guttag had used "ii" with 83-ii. To avoid this confusion we have elected to call this reverse by the next available designation, "II" (lower case LL).
  - This variety has been deleted as it is now recognized as a mint error impression of 36-J. Guttag, however, had assigned a reverse designation in 1925 and called this freak 82-hh, and subsequently Walter Breen used "hh" in conjunction with new variety 11-hh, Dr. Maris himself had previously assigned "gg" to 10-gg.
  - 83-ii This combination of dies was not included in Dr. Maris' book; however, he had discovered the specimen around 1885 and it was included and illustrated, without designation, in his 1886 sale. In 1925 Guttag described and illustrated it as 83-ii. It is illustrated on the Nagy plate as 83-gg (but Maris had already used "gg" with 10-gg), and then Breen in his 1959 listing called it 83-jj (lower case JJ). We have retained the original Guttag designation 83-ii.
  - 84-kk This variety was illustrated in the Spiro sale of 1955 as lot #1629, but without a designation. Breen's 1959 listing carried this variety as as 84-kk, and we have retained that designation for this variety.

If we follow the Maris attribution system in the future, the next open designation for a new reverse die is "mm".

